[Constitution as of 1949]

Chapter XI. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

641 Art. 122. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to work, that is, are guaranteed the right to employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organisation of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 123. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[466] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the fixing of the working day for factory and office workers at eight hours and the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in workshops where conditions of work are exceptionally arduous; by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers; and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest-homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

[857] Art. 124. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at State expense, free medical service for the working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

[871] Art. 125. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language; and by the organisation in the factories, State farms and machine and tractor stations and collective farms of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

[862] Art. 126. Women in the Russian SFSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured to women by granting them an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education and by State protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

[863] Art. 127. Equality of rights of citizens of the Russian SFSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality and also any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness, hatred and contempt - are punishable by law.

[Constitution as of 1949]

641 [687] Art. 137. To defend the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR. Treason to the country -- violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the State, espionage - is punishable with all the severity of the law and is the most heinous of crime.

Chapter XII. The Electoral System

666 Art. 138. Elections of deputies to all Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies, Supreme Soviets of Autonomous Republics, Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions, Soviets of Working People's Deputies of National and administrative Areas, districts, cities and rural localities (stanitsas, villages, hamlets and auls) are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Art. 139. Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the Russian SFSR who have reached the age of 18, irrespective of race, or nationality, sex, religion, educational or residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of insane persons and persons who have been convicted by a court of law and whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights.

[641] Every citizen of the Russian SFSR who has reached the age of 21, irrespective of race, or nationality, sex, religion, educational or residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities may be elected as a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 140. Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen has one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing.

● [642] Art. 141. Women have the right to elect and to be elected on equal terms with men.

[641] Art. 142. Citizens serving in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the USSR have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

Art. 143. Elections of deputies are direct: all Soviets of Working People's Deputies from the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of villages and cities to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, inclusive, are elected by the citizens by direct vote.

Art. 144. Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

Art. 145. Elections to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Russian SFSR are held by election districts on the following ~~basis~~

in elections to territorial and regional Soviets - one deputy for every 1,500 to 60,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the territory or region;

in elections to the regional Soviets of Autonomous Regions - one deputy for every 1,500 to 3,500 of its population, depending upon the size of the Autonomous Region;

in elections to ~~Area~~ Soviets of National Areas - one deputy for every 300 to 5,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the National Area;

in elections to area Soviets of administrative areas - one deputy for every 500 to 10,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the administrative area;

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[XI century]

and hence, no group support could be found if a leader had attempted to form a centralized political authority or an imperial system over the whole area. The old Russian Chronicle of Kiev (12th century) describing a tribe with such a culture (the Polians) states that among them each kindred group (*rod*) lived in its own separate locality and had its own government.[4]

In a like manner, principles of dignity and moderation, as well as personal autonomy and lack of coerciveness, prevailed in family relations of these people. The Chronicle, for instance, states:

> The Polians had customs of their fathers, customs mild and peaceful (*krotok i tikh*); they showed a kind of reserve (*stydenie*) towards their daughters-in-law (*snokha*) and their sisters, towards their mothers and their parents, towards their fathers-in-law and their brothers-in-law; to all of the persons named they showed great reserve. They had marriage cusoms: the bridegroom did not go to seek his bride; she was taken to him in the evening, and the following morning they brought what belonged to her (*chto vdaduche*).[5]

It appears that the family organization of the Polians rested on mutual respect of all family members; that the bride brought the dowry which remained her personal property; that she might have had the initiative in wooing. This contention is supported by other evidence. Cosmas Pragensis, for instance, speaking of the old Bohemian Slavs, states: "It is not the men who choose the maids, but the maids themselves who take the husbands they like, and when they like."[6] A French writer who visited Ukraine in the seventeenth century wrote: "In Ukraine, contrary to the customs of all other nations, the husbands do not choose their wives, but are themselves chosen by their future consorts."[7]

There is also other evidence concerning some matriarchal traits of the early Slavs.[8] Throughout ages, women of the plains betwen the Dnieper and the Volga maintained property rights over their dowries and also over income from vegetables, poultry, dairy products and yarn that they produced and sold, though such rights were not recognized to men.[9] Although a woman in Russia did not have any claim to the property of her father or her brother, and only a limited right to that of her husband, she had the privilege, denied to a man, of saving and building up a

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korobka (chest) of her own. When a girl married, she took her korobka, together with the property given her by her father or brothers, to her new home as a dowry and was allowed to dispose freely of it. At the same time her husband was not responsible for her debts.[10] When a married woman died, if childless, her korobka, as a rule, returned to her mother (matrilineal succession) and only if her mother was not alive, to her father. In some provinces the husband would inherit his wife's property if he lived with her four years or more.[11] If she had children, her property was inherited by both sons and daughters equally.[12]

Matriarchal traits are evident in contemporary folk philosophy and many folk customs in the Bielorussian villages as well as in some parts of the Ukraine. In the oral poetry of these people, for instance, the sun is represented as a female who is wooing the moon, her bridegroom. In some songs of these peasant folk the maidens contend with the male youths in duels and defeat them.[13] Even today in some of these regions it is often the girls who take the initiative in finding their suitors. During harvest festivals, it is the maidens who play the leading part. Traces of the capture of the bridegroom still persist in the folk customs of the Ukraine. In Ukrainian and Bielorussian folk poetry women, especially the mother, play a very significant role, while the place of the father is less outstanding. In popular opinion in this area, the consent of the mother in the marriage of a daughter is considered more important than that of the father.

Marriage among the Old-Slavonic peasant folk was endogamous within the village community and perhaps even within the joint household community (*verv, zadruga*)—not unlike in the Croatian zadruga of our days.[14] There was also, apparently, a particularly developed brother-sister attachment as is manifested by brother-sister incest which seems to have taken place occasionally in some Russian regions until recently.[15] There were, therefore, abundant opportunities for emotional attachments in the Old-Slavonic family, since there were no external political, economic, or social pressures that might have disturbed internal equalitarian family relationships. Such relationships have persisted until present times in certain parts of Ukraine:

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(*sud*). Accordingly, in the mind of these people, the universe and peace (*mir*) were also identical.[28]

Great calamities occasionally befell the Old-Slavonic communities—frequent raids and plundering by the invaders and slave hunters; then cattle plagues and epidemics. These were thought to have been brought on by certain demons and malevolent ghosts, but the Polesie people knew of ways to cope even with such disasters. Contagious diseases were prevented or stopped by means of magic, especially by the magical powers of women. As for their enemies, the soil cultivators of the Dnieper basin were not prepared for any offensive or defensive warfare and were an easy prey for many aggressors. Being not armed, their defense consisted of hiding themselves. They sought safety in impenetrable marshes and forests and even resorted to such ruses as lying submerged on the bottoms of marshes and breathing by means of cane sticks until the danger was over.[29]

Since the Old-Slavonic agriculturists contracted their marriage unions early in life, as a means of labor supply and since they were not exposed to exhaustion of constant warfare, the region which they originally inhabited soon reached its limits of population. Thus, in spite of their autarchic and intensive agricultural techniques and their attachment to the soil, the early Slav folk were forced to leave their original habitat in search of new lands. They did not migrate in a fury and did not traverse great distances like the mounted nomads of the steppes; rather, they moved slowly and quietly for short distances and by stages always keeping in touch with the mother community from which they had sprung.

In this manner the Old-Slavonic tillers penetrated new regions and territories, not by force and conquest like the predatory steppe raiders, but by cultivating new soil along the river basins, in the midst of forest clearings, drained marshes or irrigated steppes. Living in village communities which remained ethnically uninterrupted, they transplanted and perpetuated in their new homes their native agricultural techniques, their beliefs and customs, their family and community organization, as well as their philosophy of life. Thus as late as the twentieth century, the social organization and personality traits of the Zadruga peo-

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58 role of the women and children in his family and on complete subjection of all people under his control. To accept anything else would have been contrary to his view of life, to everything he stood for. It would have conflicted with his temper and his character to have acted differently. It might have meant not only loss of face but loss of power as well.

The invader was therefore likely to maintain his social distance, to resort to physical force and violence, to the *knut*,[8] to impose his dominance on and to expect unconditional obedience from all the members of his household as well as from all others who were settled and worked on the land which he had conquered and which he controlled. He was backed in such attitudes and practices by the traditional philosophy of the steppe warriors which tells them that might is right and that only unchallenged power imposed by means of fear and awe brings personal satisfaction and security.

Such conflicting marital and social philosophies, however, provoked intense social conflicts, witnessed, for instance, by the history of Slav-Avar relations. The oppressed Slavonic concubines and wives, together with their children, tended to revolt against their tyrannical and inscrutable Avar husbands and fathers:

> The Chunen [Avars] came every year to the Slavs to spend the winter among them, and abuse the wives and daughters of the Slavs. . . . But the sons of the Chunen men and the wives and maidens of the Wenden [Slavs] did not tolerate this oppression; they refused to obey the Chunen and started an uprising.[9]

562 538 Such resolute and fighting women have been perhaps personified in Russian epic narratives by Polenitsi (steppe women), the female warriors. The physical strength of these Russian Amazons is represented as being greater than that of the Bogatyri, the legendary heroes. Polenitsi are pictured as daring, bold women, who fight, torture, maim and kill the Bogatyri. But they also invite these heroes to sleep with them and resort to various tricks or to sheer force to coerce the Bogatyri to take them in marriage.

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attractive forest fairies who used to help travelers changed into beastly demons who trick wayfarers into making them lose their way and then cause them to perish.

The imposition of the rule of nomadic warriors over the soil cultivators brought about not only insecurity of life and property, but disintegration of the old ways of life and of the old morals. Social disintegration favored detachment from the group, caused decline in group identification and solidarity, tended to increase self-concern, fostered destructive aggressiveness and anti-social behavior. Hence, drunkenness, debauchery, orgiastic practices, together with robbing and killing, became prominent. According to Fedotov, the old Christian sermons are so full of invectives against such behavior that some studies of Russia's religious life consider that these themes formed the main content of anti-pagan literature of those days.[33]

Perhaps as a result of such social disorganization the Old-Slavonic Goddess of Love (Lada) was relegated into the background and obscurity. Instead, male gods of bacchanalian passion and Dionysiac orgy (Iarilo, Pereplut) became outstanding in folk imagination.[34] A phallic rite was observed at wedding banquets and sexual promiscuity during the feast gathering of young people became prominent, according to the old sermons.[35]

It was under these conditions of social disorganization and insecurity, and ascendency of power-oriented patriarchal system over the old stateless, semi-matriarchal and equalitarian order that the attitudes toward women changed radically. Mounting hostilities generated by conditions of strife and insecurity can be vented not only through inordinate sex life, alcoholism and delinquency, but also by aggressive behavior against all the unprotected and the weak. And just as sex life tended to take the form of lechery, and love that of uncontrolled passion, the attitudes toward the women changed from respect and reserve to that of scorn and contempt. They came to be looked upon as impure and unclean physically and morally.[36]

It is possible that the new unsatisfactory social conditions might have also affected the concept of the Christian God and attitude toward death. Not only did popular imagination in conditions of disorganization and insecurity tend to see in this

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593 861 the people would say. Hence, made secure by the prevailing philosophy of life, upheld by court decisions and supported by Church teachings on the supernatural sanction of his will, the father might be tempted to take advantage of his unlimited power and to expose his son to excessively severe and humiliating treatment. "I had born you and I shall kill you," said Taras Bulba to his son and shot him to death.[15]

593 The father might also take advantage of his uncontrolled power in the use of family property and funds. He might gamble them away, spend them on debauchery, or bring the family to ruin as a result of drunkenness or mismanagement. Such incidents in Russian families are often described in autobiographies and other writings of Russian men of letters. It is characteristic of Great-Russian family relations that the other family members were not expected to complain against such extreme abuse of paternal authority.[16] Hence in all strata of Russian society, there was a tendency to accept anything the father did, even the most degrading treatment, as his paternal prerogative. Even if a father had ruined his family because of gambling or lechery he was still held in reverence both by his society and by his children.[17]

606 835 Occasionally, particularly among the peasants, the father might take sexual advantage of his daughters-in-law, a practice which became known as *snokhachestvo* (*snokha* is daughter-in-law). This habit, which was already noticed by the writer of the Kiev Chronicle, was favored by the frequent absences of married sons who spent a part of the year in the city as workers or who were away from home for many years, or indefinitely, when conscripted for military duty. "The more women in the house, the more sin" (*Bolshe bab v semie, bolshe greha*),[18] the people would comment.

593 562 As much as the traditions of the steppe warriors prevailed in the Great-Russian patriarchal family the wife was placed on an equal footing with her children in relation to her husband. She had to show absolute submission and blind obedience to her husband. "The husband is father to his wife" (*Muzh zhene otets*);[19] "Christ is the head of the Church, the husband that of

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his wife"; "The husband is the law unto his wife," the proverbs say. As a result of such a view of husband-wife relations, the husband had the right and duty to apply brutal force to his wife as a means of discipline, the same as to his children. "It is woman's fate to be always beaten," the people would say.[20]

The description of folk life in the eastern parts of Russia corroborate this attitude toward wives as expressed in popular sayings. The informants tell of the "miserable fate of the women" (*nepriglyadnaya uchast zheny*),[21] the constant fights of husband and wife (*muzh deretsya s zhenoi*), and the thrashing (*poboi*) to which the wives were exposed on the part of their husbands. In case of adultery the punishment for the woman was "merciless beating" (*neshchadnoe bitie*) or strangling (*udushenie*).[22]

Domostroy, which was under the influence of Church teachings, agrees with this philosophy and practices and even offers elaborate and detailed precepts to the husband about how to treat his wife ". . . if the wife is not afraid of the punishment and does not follow the instructions, the husband should beat her." According to Domostroy only if the wife is blindly and unconditionally submissive "everything will run smoothly in the family." The wife must do everything "to please her husband and God and she must listen to him with fear and awe."[23]

Domostroy was compiled primarily for the urban classes of the Czardom. Its rules reflect a certain deterioration in the status of women as they moved from the peasant to the urban level. In the cities, especially among the merchants, the women were confined to the *terem* (gyneceum) and had less opportunity to work and earn for themselves. In the urban environment, the Turco-Mongol influences were therefore reinforced.

In the rural areas the women retained their role in economic production. The peasant women were thus enabled to retain some of the the Old-Slavonic traditions; they often knew how to assert themselves and influence family affairs. In a like manner, with the increasing opportunities for schooling in urban centers, a growing number of city women emancipated themselves from family ties and became economically and socially independent. In such circumstances also many women in the urban

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middle and upper strata knew how to assert themselves and increase their role and influence, thus reviving the Old-Slavonic traditions.

III

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Though the father was to be severe and strict, he was expected also to love his wife and his children. Just like God in Heaven, father's duty was to inflict harsh punishment, but he was also to show compassion, kindness, understanding and constant solicitude for the members of his household. He was responsible before God and men for the failings and misdeeds of his family members, and he was therefore to look after their well-being and salvation. Thus love and violence were often mingled in the Great-Russian family. A number of folk sayings express this ambivalent trait of attachment and hostility when referring to the attitudes and behavior of the father. "To love one's wife is to hold her in terror" (*Lyubit zhenu-derzhat grozu*); "Whom I love I thrash" (*Kovo lyublyu togo i biyu*).[24]

One of the basic underlying motives in the father's violence seems to have been his self-seeking and urge for dominance as well as a need for succor. "Beat your wife oftener, it will be useful for the future," the men would say. The Domostroy justifies child beating in a similar manner ". . . he will comfort you in your old age and will give beauty to your soul. . . . and he will make you happy when he grows up. . . . and your enemies will envy you. If you will be weak in his childhood, he will make you suffer when he grows up; will set your soul on edge."[25]

There is in some proverbs also an indication of an expectation of "masochistic" indulgence according to which violence and deprivation would arouse love. "Not to beat one's wife is not to be loved by her" (*zhenu ne bit i milu ne byt*),[26] the people would say. In a folk song, for instance, the husband buys gifts for his wife, but it is of no avail. When the husband buys a knut and gives his wife a beating with it, it is only then that she responds with love. In another folk song the wife boasts the knuting "is an honor to me and is not painful" (*Mne to za chest, ne bolno.*)[27]

Though the father felt dependent upon his wife and children

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

ment of moderation and emotional integration. In the early Slav society, mother's role in all family affairs was very significant. With the growth of the patriarchal family, one of her important duties came to be that of intercessor and of protector against the wrath of the father. In the patriarchal family the mother was not the chief disciplinarian; therefore she did not have to resort to threat, violence, privations, and humiliation as a means of discipline. Her punishments were mild and her main means of control were those of love and reasoning. Her authority and self-respect were therefore not endangered by being close to children and by being on familiar terms with them. She was always available and approachable. The children, therefore, felt much more at ease and free in the presence of their mother than in that of their father.[1]

The mother, if feeling neglected, abused or degraded by a remote and harsh husband, was likely to seek compensation for the lack of love and for wounded self-esteem by being over-protective and over-affectionate in relation to her children, expecting indulgent response from them. The son, if barred in his desire for attachment to his father or if abused and humiliated by him, might feel the more attracted to his mother as a means of emotional outlet and as compensation for feelings of rejection and humiliation.

It is this role of the mother as warm protector and close friend that has been expressed in folk sayings and other products of folk philosophy and imagination. "Fear your father, and respect your mother" says a Russian folk proverb pointing out the sharp contrast in the attitude of a child toward his father and his mother. The folk sayings emphasize also the intimate and tender bond that exists between mother and child and the importance of such close ties for the child. "Without a father the child is half orphan, without a mother a child is a complete orphan"; "Mother's beating does not hurt"; "Mother raises her hand high, but does not strike hard." Because of such close mother-child relationship, it was considered in the popular view of life that mother's influence on the child was in the long run deeper than that of the father. "What mother puts into the child's head, the father will not knock out," the people would say.

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that he might be rich and powerful in life.[6] For the same reason money was placed in the water when the child was bathed for the first time.[7]

In marriage customs the urge for power was expressed in certain activities performed during the marriage ritual and believed to contain magical properties that enabled either one or the other spouse to dominate. Also in the wedding party the bridegroom was called "knyaz" (prince) and his party "boyars"; an important part of the marriage ceremonies consisted in *velichat gostei*, that is in mutual glorification of the wedding guests.

The phrase *Kak vas velichat?*—how to glorify you?, which is employed when asking another person his name might indicate the same feelings. In early Russia personal names were formed by a combination of words which conveyed the image of rule, glory, power, holiness and destruction, such as Sviatoslav (the holy and glorious), Yaropolk (blazing power), Mstislav (the glory of revenge).

Another manifestation of power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression on the folk level is revealed, for instance, in attitudes toward women. The folk image of the woman is in remarkable contrast to the image of the mother. The derisive name for woman is *baba*, and baba is said "not to be a human being" (*Baba ne chelovek*), according to a proverb. Therefore mistreatment and abuse of women may be justified.[8] In the folk parlance distinction is made between *Krestyane* (Christians, peasants) and *zhenshchiny* (women). In the folk maxims women are pictured as immoral ("Three babas Sodom"), shameless ("A baba laughs where grandpa blushes"), more cunning than the devil ("Where the devil fails he sends a baba"), the cause of all man's troubles ("She was the cause of Adam's banishment"), and source of all evil ("We cannot expect any good from our rib").[9]

This folk concept of woman as an inferior being is found on all levels of Russian society. Comparatively few women have been admitted to the rank of saints in the Russian Church. Count Leo Tolstoy, a philosopher and novelist, who has been otherwise renowned for his ideas of Christian love, all-human brotherhood and an anarchic social and political equality, showed a great deal of misogynism. In his diary he pictures

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

women as stupid and nasty, conceited and licentious, and as the mainspring of all calamities of the world.[10] But Tolstoy, too, like the Russian popular view of life, did make a distinction between the woman and the mother.[11]

Hostile drives, mistrust and destructive aggression might be revealed also in attitudes towards strangers. These are sometimes likened to animals, especially dogs. Comparing people with beasts indicates an inclination to abase them and to mistreat them. Such an attitude is shown especially toward those who are considered to be "enemies." When talking about the Tartars, the people would say "the dog of a Tartar." In a like way, xenophobia was manifested in the attitudes toward the "thrice accursed Latins," that is, the Western, non-Orthodox peoples.

Perhaps this need to abuse and to destroy in order to demonstrate one's power was manifested also in treatment of those who were abandoned and helpless, such as prisoners in foreign wars, as well as prisoners in rebellions and civil wars at home, or convicted criminals. In the rebellions and civil wars atrocities were committed by both sides, the government troops and the rebels, the Orthodox and the Dissenters, the Whites and the Reds. In a similar manner convicted criminals, domestic servants and serfs were often used as targets of destructive aggression.

Tendency to abuse was manifested also in the relations between merchants and customers, capital and labor. In the lowest strata ruthless self-seeking took also the form of begging. There was a great number of beggars; begging became a widely spread business. Some of the beggars became people of considerable means. Leaders among the beggars would mutilate, deprive of eyesight, and deform healthy men and boys to use them as their instruments in begging. Entire villages, and even some regions were said to have made begging their regular profession.[12]

II

In circumstances where power-seeking, destructive aggression and mistrust prevail any accident may be interpreted as a sign of another person's hostile intentions. The other person tends to be looked upon as a potential enemy. "You mustn't stroke anyone's head—you might get your hand bitten off," said Lenin.[13] And as

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668 to be sure that by means of such a "Politburo" he would be able to dictate the "Party line": "all the chief threads of the movement would have been concentrated in my hands, and I could have been sure that the intended revolution would not stray from the line I had laid down for it."[17]

The top revolutionary body was to regard all those below them as expendable in the interest of the revolution, "as revolutionary capital placed at their disposal."[18] This idea of a revolutionary elite leading expendable masses was justified by the Anarchist claim that masses are by themselves unable to achieve radical social changes. The Anarchists believed that only a minority consisting of professional conspirators, wholly dedicated to ruthless terror and destruction, can accomplish social revolution.[19]

This "science of revolution" had to be based on a thorough knowledge of a society which had to be infiltrated before it was destroyed.[20] *Catechism* had therefore classified all people into definite categories and had prescribed the attitude and the behavior of revolutionists toward each one of them. In the first two groups were the people who had to be immediately assassinated if the revolution were to be successful and counter-revolution prevented. ". . . their violent and sudden death will put fear into the heart of the government, break its will, and deprive it of its most energetic and intelligent agents."[21]

Next came the "highly placed beasts," that is, wealthy but not dangerous individuals with connections, influence and power; also ambitious careerists and "liberals of varying shades." All these were to be compromised and then blackmailed and compelled to serve the interests of the revolution. Finally came the categories of the intellectual "doctrinaires" who had to be "liquidated" unless won over to the cause of the revolution. "The majority of these will disappear but of the rest we shall make genuine revolutionaries."[22] Particular attention was paid [562] to women. Those completely won over to the revolutionary cause were considered "the most precious of our treasures."

Other methods in this "science of revolution" consisted of frightening the enemies, of cowing the neutrals and of terrifying their own followers. To that end assassination of members of

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

worth and dignity of the individual above all other values; the Dukhobortsy claimed that every human being was a god. "God is spirit; he is in us; then we are gods."[7]

Disapproval of oppressive authority on the family level led the Dukhobortsy to repudiate even the names of "father" and "mother." They therefore did not call their parents "father" and "mother," but only "old man" and "old woman." In the same way a father would not say of his children "mine," but "ours."[8] Proscribing the existing degrading subjection of the wife to her husband the Dukhobortsy—not unlike the early Slavs—stressed the complete equality of men and women, husbands and wives. "Among us a woman is not a beast of burden, but a helpmate and standby, a friend and companion in this vale of misery," the Molokāne would say.[9] The men called their wives "sisters."

To satisfy their demands for complete acceptance and anarchic relations the Molokane attempted to build a society in which all things were to be possessed in common, and in which the evangelic principles of charity and equality, and the gospel of peace, truth and justice would reign supreme and forever.[10] They felt that it was only in such a communistic society that complete acceptance of all on equal terms could be achieved.

II

Just as in the ideology and practices of Russian monasticism, in some sects of the Dissenters reaction against the oppressive conditions and feeling of utter rejection took the form of extreme social withdrawal. For instance, the *Straniki* (wanderers) proscribed marriage and all family ties, and sought salvation in isolation and flight as the only way to avoid any contact with "Satan's representatives," that is, with the authorities. They would destroy and reject passports and all papers of identification, admit of no social distinction or ties, renounce private property and tramp from village to village, living by theft or by the hospitality of their sympathizers who provided food and secret shelter for them. "Have no city, no village, no home," they would advise.[11]

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music is the minor mode. But suffering from climatic and geographical conditions has its analogues in suffering produced by other causes, and this fact sufficiently accounts for the melancholy burden of the songs of the Russians who live in the sunlight of nature's smiles. A special cause of the mournfulness of the songs of the *devitchink*, moreover lies in the circumstance that once they dealt with things which were in themselves mournful. Formerly marriage, to the maiden, meant being sold or given into involuntary servitude. She was not consulted about the match, which implied not only permanent separation from parents and friends, but also possible ill-treatment by her husband and his family against which there was no sure safeguard but death. In the *Lootschina*, sung in the first scene of "A Russian Peasant Wedding," one of the most beautiful as it also is one of the most truthfully expressive of Russian folk songs, one may hear the voice of suffering caused by the persecutions of the Russian mother-in-law. "It is sad and joyful on a quiet summer's night," says Tolstoi, "in the midst of a wordless forest, to hear the wide-sweeping song of the Russians. In it is yearning without end, without hope, also power invincible, also the fateful stamp of destiny, iron preordination, one of the fundamental principles of our nationalty with which it is possible to explain much that in Russian life seems incomprehensible. And what, besides, may not be heard in that drawling song in the summer night and the silent forest? . . . We are like the sharp arrow; it flies from the string, where the hard point pierces there is its home. . .. . Clouds concealed the moon, the wind shook the tops of the linden trees, and scattered blossoms in an odorous rain on the prince and on Yelena. The old branches trembled, as if wishing to say, 'For whom do we blossom, for whom do we blow?'"

Along with the gloom of the folk-music of Russia, however, we find a boisterous humor—the humor which whirls us off our feet in the *scherzos* and *finales* of the Russian symphonists. The phenomenon is startling but not inexplicable. The most profoundly melancholy composers that have ever lived have also been the maddest ones. So under the conditions of their life the

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A Russian Peasant Wedding.

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AMONG the Russian peasants, particularly in more remote districts, the social ceremonies of a wedding are complicated and of long duration, and vastly more important in popular opinion than the church rite; for this reason we shall describe only the former. Of course, the blessing of the church is necessary to make the marriage binding, but it is comparatively an innovation, having been introduced only about one thousand years ago, while the relations represented by the social forms of the wedding date back very much farther. In them are plainly seen the former structure of the *clan* or *gens;* the opposing interests of the families of the bride and the groom; the existence, in prehistoric times of marriage by purchase and by capture amongst primitive people; the subjection of the girl to the father, in the patriarchal family, and to her father-in-law in the new home.

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It may be necessary to explain that in Russia the unit of social and economic life is the family, and that the father or eldest brother is the head of it; the young man, on marrying, does not set up for himself, but brings the bride to his father's house, where she becomes one of the daughters and takes her part in the work of the family. Only after the old man's death does separation take place; the married men divide the property and found households for themselves.

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In the family the woman is completely dominated by man, a fact that is indicated by many features in the ceremony. While

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single, the girl is allowed some freedom; she has more time at her disposal, she can go about with her friends, attend parties, etc. When married, the cares of her new position, the necessity of harder work for her new family and her altered position amongst people who are strangers to her and who look upon her as an intruder—all these reasons keep her in the house, and her time for social recreation is past. Therefore girlhood is considered the golden time in the life of a young woman, and a girl looks with dread and apprehension upon her approaching marriage; but on the other hand, love prompts her to join her husband and she hopes that his love will compensate her for what she will have to endure. In this way there is a mixture of grief and joy in the whole ceremony.

The weddings are nearly all held in the late fall or winter, when the field work is over for the year, the harvest sold and the family knows how much money it can afford to spend. When the old people have decided that their child shall marry, they ask him or her whom he or she likes best and whom next best. Marriage, it must be remembered, is often a business matter; there must be a wedding and at the chosen period. In fact, a marriage at any other time of the year is an exception. In this way it comes about that all the marriageable girls in the village are expecting their offers to come during the same week in the fall or winter, and are ready for them.

The room is cleaned and lighted up every night, the old people and the girl stay at home, while the smaller children run about the village, looking into the windows to find out how things are going on in their neighbors' houses.

The preliminaries are usually arranged between the two families, the marriage being really more the affair of these, than of the two young people themselves, since it is in fact the giving up of a working-hand by one family and her adoption into another one. The arrangements are made by friends or go-betweens. It is customary that a female relation of the groom goes to ask for the hand of the girl, and is then called a *svakha*. With her goes some old male relation or friend, who knows all the necessary forms of ceremony and is a persuasive talker; he is